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Rockefeller: The Roosevelt Republican

By RICHARD WHALEN

NEW YORK's freshman Governor Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller has proved surprisingly adept at concealing the motives behind his wheeling and dealing. Students of Machiavelli's devious art confess bafflement at his hot pursuit of the seemingly locked-up Republican Presidential nomination.

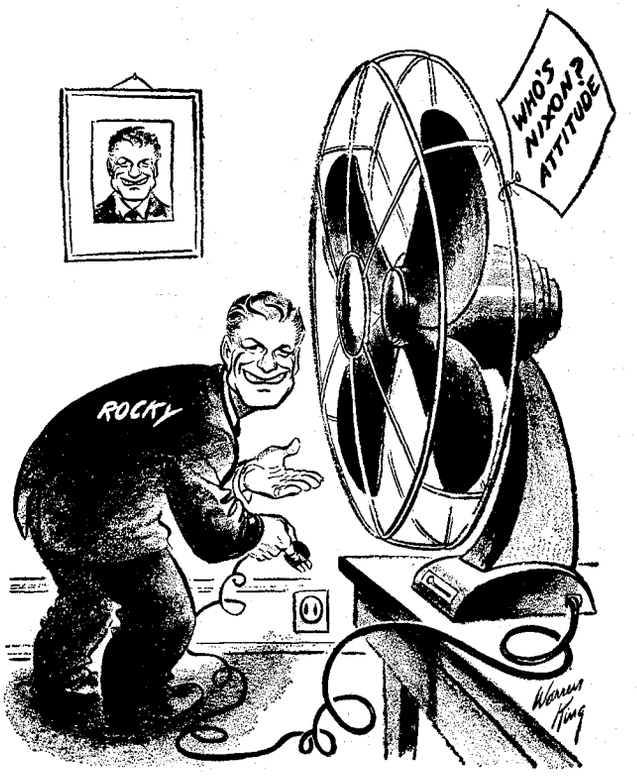
On the very day he met in Albany with state party leaders to force a reluctant promise that New York's 96-vote delegation would go to Chicago "uncommitted," the news was humming over the Associated Press wires that Vice President Richard Nixon had some 700 convention votes safely in his pocket—more than the majority needed for his nomination.

One puzzled newsman described Rockefeller as "an ambition wrapped in a riddle, surrounded by a maze of millions of dollars." Rockefeller is neither an enigma nor a political playboy. A coolly calculating mind clicks behind his boyish grin; his advisers are no tyros. Rockefeller's obvious grand strategy is to wreck Richard Nixon and, if need be, the Republican party itself. Like Dwight Eisenhower in the early days of his Administration, Rockefeller wishes to remake the Grand Old Party in his own Liberal image.

A confirmed pragmatist, he first tried a frontal assault on Nixon and the Republican regulars. During a junket last fall, he probed the party's loyalty to the Vice President and found discouragingly few soft spots. Moreover, on the strength of his trip to Russia and Poland, Nixon's popularity was soaring in the opinion polls. Rockefeller shrewdly refused to plunge headlong into a fight that would finish him. Instead, in an ambiguous statement last December, he "withdrew" from the race, explaining that party leaders were "opposed to any contest for the nomination." While delighted Democrats pasted this charge of "bossism" in their hats for use against Nixon, Rockefeller & Company settled back for a waiting game.

HE FLATLY REFUSED to endorse his party's only apparent candidate and pointedly declined even to mention Nixon's name. His aides buttonholed anyone who would listen and confided that "Nixon can't win." Into Liberal ears they poured

'DRAFTS HAPPEN SO SELDOM, Y'KNOW'



their misgivings about "Tricky Dickie" and reminded listeners of Rockefeller's New Deal service and his freedom from any taint of "McCarthyism." Chiefly through Oregon's ambitious Republican Governor Mark Hatfield, word was quietly passed that the reluctant candidate just might make the race after all. A close watch was kept for defectors from the Nixon camp, and poll results were carefully weighed. When Nixon's stock seemed to have tumbled sufficiently, to the point where he was trailing Democrats Jack Kennedy and Adlai Stevenson, Rocky's watchdogs pounced.

The candidate himself dropped the first shoe that put him back in the race publicly. He refused the top convention posts laid before him, and said he would not even go to the convention. His public explanation was that he wanted to foreclose all possibility of a Vice-Presidential draft; but he had privately signalled a complete break with the Eisenhower Administration, and a determination to campaign, in effect, as a Democrat. State Chairman L. Judson Morhouse quickly dropped the other shoe—

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right on Nixon's toes: "We must recognize that the place for Rockefeller's broad appeal, reaching beyond party lines, is at the head of the ticket." He warned darkly that, unless Rockefeller is nominated, "we stand in serious danger of losing not only the Presidency, but also the state legislature and many of our local offices." Never before has a dark horse challenged a party's obvious choice so late in pre-convention campaigning. What could Rockefeller hope to achieve in barely two months?

SPECULATION immediately centered on the impact of the summit collapse and the Administration's clumsy handling of the U-2 incident. Stevenson had barely launched his hair-trigger blast at the Republicans when Rockefeller chimed in, asking a "non-partisan" sifting of the summit rubble. Confirming Rockefeller's place in the political spectrum, the ultra-Liberal New York *Post* congratulated Stevenson and Rockefeller on their statesmanship. But it was by no means certain that Nixon had been buried under the summit failure; convincing arguments to the contrary were made. And whatever his decline in the polls, his powerful showing in the primaries was beyond dispute.

Amid all the guessing about Rockefeller's motives and the meaning of his "independent" line, the press left discreetly unmentioned his most potent weapon: enormous economic influence. Broad hints were dropped by members of New York's financial community that maybe Nixon wasn't the right man. Conservative Republicans, ruefully recalling the blitzkriegs launched by wealthy Eastern Liberals in 1940 and 1952, wondered if history would repeat. Certainly the Rockefeller family fortune (an estimated $1 billion) and its labyrinthine business connections could furnish abundant fuel for a golden steamroller. But informed odds-makers, hedging only a bit, believe that the Rockefeller juggernaut cannot get rolling in time. Both Willkie and Eisenhower were rammed through Republican conventions after months of groundwork that Rockefeller has not done.

If not the blitz, what then? A time-bomb perhaps. By the process of elimination, one arrives at Nelson Rockefeller's compelling motive for making a race that is all but over. If he cannot have the 1960 nomination, and he has virtually conceded that he cannot, he shall do everything he can to embarrass the Eisenhower Administration and destroy its legitimate heir, so that out of the ruins of 1960's defeat only Rockefeller will shine as the party's hope for 1964.

What manner of man is this multi-millionaire Machiavellian? Says one admirer: "Not since FDR has a politician appeared with anything like the blinding charm of Nelson Rockefeller." Consider the source of that high compliment: David C. Williams, editor of *ADA World* and a left-wing Democrat who has probably never written a kind word about a genuine Republican. Rockefeller, in the eyes of Williams and like-minded Liberals, is different. Why do they love him? Because he is a Roosevelt Republican—a New Dealer in all save meaningless party label. He is also the perfect figure to finish the overhaul of the GOP, well advanced during the Eisenhower years, into a vehicle of harmless Liberal me-tooism. Wrote Harvard's Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., leading ADA brain-truster, in a memorandum to Democratic leaders:

> **"Obviously the classical Republican party —that wing of the Republicans which regards Nixon as its leader and hope—will not be the instrument of any sort of national advance. But may not possibilities remain within the Republican camp? . . . Nelson Rockefeller . . . stands out as one politician who plainly glimpses the potentialities of the Sixties."**

It is ironic that big-spending Liberals should find Rockefeller so attractive. Frugality was the cardinal virtue in the household of fabulously wealthy John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Nelson, born in July, 1908, at the family's summer home in Bar Harbor, earned his 25-cent weekly allowance by shining the family's shoes and by raising rabbits for the Rockefeller medical laboratories. "My father used to say that one of the easiest ways to make money was to save it," John D. Jr. told his six children. "We were brought up to regard waste as almost a sin." When he attended Dartmouth, young Nelson received an allowance of $1,500, to cover his tuition and all living expenses, with the customary tithe set aside for church and charity, and another 10% earmarked for savings.

Graduation Day brought Nelson a $2,500 reward from his teetotaler father for not drinking or smoking, a regimen later broken only by an occasional glass of sherry. He married Miss Mary Todhunter Clark of the wealthy Philadelphia Main Line Clarks, who would work on her husband an often overlooked political influence. Tall "Tod" Rockefeller, cousin of the far-left Democratic Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania, has long lent her glittering name to New York's Liberal party, and usually hovers, half-amused, on the fringe of husband Nelson's Republican gatherings.

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After a tour of the world with his bride, Nelson, though trained as an architect at Dartmouth, dutifully entered the family's business empire, beginning as a clerk in the Chase National Bank, of which his uncle, Winthrop W. Aldrich, was president. He also became a director of Rockefeller Center, Inc., the complex of office buildings constructed in midtown Manhattan at the depth of the depression and faced the task of renting five million square feet of space in a busted real estate market. Flashing the ruthless streak of his grandfather, who built the Standard Oil empire on the broken backs of competitors, young Nelson bought up long-term leases at other office buildings and "kidnapped" tenants for his half-empty Rockefeller Center. Money, the young man may have learned, was for more than saving.

His involvement in Latin America began with a visit to Venezuela in 1937, as a director of Creole Petroleum (a Standard Oil subsidiary); and he soon acquired vast farming and ranch lands in the shadow of the Andes. A bright young businessman of pale Republican persuasion, he was a natural recruit for the New Deal's second wave. In 1940 FDR asked him to serve as Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

He quickly proved an able Organization Man, who made no trouble for the bureaucracy and placidly initialled bigger and bigger budget requests. From this special post he moved to the State Department as an Assistant Secretary in charge of relations with our Latin American allies. His diplomatic ability was less than stunning; glad-handling and good will-spreading were more his style. He left Washington at the end of the war.

But he caught Harry Truman's eye and was called to the Capital in 1950 to head the International Development Advisory Board, a 14-member citizens' group appointed to guide Point Four aid-giving. In contradictory fashion, he criticized government-to-government aid, urged more emphasis on private investment abroad, yet topped his report, "Partners in Progress," with a plea for funneling more American dollars through the United Nations. Even before President Eisenhower took office, Rockefeller was appointed—with Arthur Flemming and Milton S. Eisenhower—to Ike's Advisory Committee on Government Organization, which shuffled the administrative hierarchy when a thorough housecleaning was necessary.

Rockefeller's chief accomplishment under Eisenhower was to assist in the creation of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, an empire that enabled him to try his handout ideas at home. But Undersecretary Rockefeller ran head on into Budget-conscious Cabinet members led by Treasury Secretary George Humphrey, and had to content himself with such grandiose schemes as the White House Conference on Education, which introduced to a dismayed nation the fuzziest "progressive" notions of education and the strange Orwellian process of "group dynamics."

After a series of spats with HEW Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby, Rockefeller resigned and accepted from out of Sherman Adams' hat the post of Special Assistant to the President for Foreign Affairs. Open-handed Rocky fared no better with his drum-beating for bigger foreign aid budgets, and finally resigned from government in late 1955.

"If Rockefeller were to say frankly today how he views his experience from the death of Roosevelt onward," wrote newsman Donald Grant in *The Progressive* after lengthy interviews last fall, "I think he would say that life with Truman was possible; under Eisenhower, it was a frustrating nightmare of impotence." Power, in Rockefeller's mind, meant a popular mandate. He set his sights on New York's governorship, held by fellow multimillionaire Averell Harriman, an unpopular Democrat. Republicans, sensing victory in 1958, were forming behind either former GOP National Chairman Leonard Hall or State Senate Majority Leader Walter J. Mahoney until the Rockefeller steamroller roared through the state convention. That was that.

CANDIDATE ROCKEFELLER campaigned with barely any mention of his party affiliation, and turned the titanic battle of the moneybags into a street brawl. Through the teeming streets of Manhattan's garment district churned the stocky figure with the broad grin, shaking hands from dawn to dusk. In Spanish Harlem, he spoke Spanish. On the East Side, he ate cheese blintzes. At Coney Island, he gulped hot dogs. Everywhere, he promised everything. So entranced was Dorothy Schiff, publisher of the left-wing New York *Post*, that she threw her paper behind Rockefeller at the last minute. Countless other Democrats followed. "The Rock" (as space-pressed tabloids dubbed him) rolled to a half-million vote majority over out-promised, out-spent Harriman. For Republican regulars, however, victory tasted of ashes.

Promising government "with a heart as well as a brain," Governor Rockefeller jarred New Yorkers by proposing the first $2 billion budget in the state's history, to be financed by draining an additional $277 million out of heavily taxed citizens. While

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Republican conservatives fought a delaying-action, State Democratic Chairman Mike Prendergast fumed: "Having a Rockefeller as Governor is turning out to be a luxury that New York taxpayers cannot afford." Rockefeller's tax hike and much of his welfare program squeezed through the Republican-controlled legislature. Upstaters balked at a radical anti-discrimination bill regulating private, multiple-dwelling housing, and a badly needed bill—requiring one year's residence for welfare applicants—died under Rocky's veto.

Many Republicans were brought to the brink of open mutiny by their leader's undeviatingly Liberal line, while squirming Democrats asked themselves why they hadn't thought of Rockefeller's program first. Manhattan's Liberal party—run by long-time Rockefeller chums (introduced by "Tod") Dave Dubinsky and Alex Rose—gave the Governor an A-plus for his efforts, and hinted that, if Rockefeller runs again in 1962, the party may endorse him rather than rubber-stamp the Democrat.

Rockefeller strategists aren't thinking about 1962. Instead they are laying a series of land-mines along Richard Nixon's path.

Rockefeller's quick jump on the U-2 was only the first move against Nixon. Chief strategist of the New York camp is a self-styled "dissident Democrat"—dark, devious Emmet John Hughes, 39, a former *Time*, Inc. executive and sometime Eisenhower Republican. Hughes is the Rockefeller family's "senior advisor on public policy," with much to say on a far-ranging network of business, political and philanthropic interests. During 1952, Hughes served as Eisenhower's principal speech-writer and is credited with Ike's "I-will-go-to-Korea" speech. He stayed with Ike through 1953, feuding constantly with White House conservatives, returned to *Time* until the 1956 campaign and left Ike for good after a final round of angry name-calling in the official family.

A New Dealer born a generation too late, Hughes is remarkable for his flexibility, which critics plainly label lack of principle. His shift to the Rockefeller camp early this year was celebrated with a venomous book, *America the Vincible*, in which the ghost refuted himself. In place of the firm policies of the late John Foster Dulles (which he once lauded), Hughes offered a supine strategy of accommodation. At every pressure-point along the Cold War battle line, Hughes counseled retreat. Tass, the official Soviet news agency, found the book so intriguing that it cabled to Moscow a generous resume, which *Pravda* and *Izevestia* published under the conclusive head—"An Unrealistic Policy is Sterile."

Last December, a reporter asked Hughes how he reconciled his policies with Rockefeller's apparent hard line on communism (his opposition to an atom test ban and reservations about East-West trade). Replied an unruffled Hughes: "I believe we share identical or similar views on the fundamental issues of foreign policy." The true Rockefeller, he suggested, had not yet fully emerged.

THE REAL ROCKEFELLER, true to his New Deal leanings, is emerging steadily under the guidance of Emmet Hughes. What Rocky says and does will not surprise those who recall his explanation of his Republicanism: "Liberal Republicans and Liberal Democrats often advocate the same programs, but Republicans have the advantage that they can execute them without destroying the confidence of business."

What, from the record, do Hughes and Rockefeller want in 1960?

Hughes desires a strongly Democratic Congress ("I welcome it"). And above all, he wants Richard Nixon dead politically. "I wouldn't support Nixon under any circumstances," snaps Hughes.

To those who will look beneath surface civility, Nelson Rockefeller's strategy for 1960 is plain: to destroy Nixon and usurp the Republican party, thereby enabling the bearer of capitalism's proudest name to consolidate the Socialist revolution begun by the New Deal. The irony is exquisite; the prospect, disastrous.

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Corruption Unlimited: Urban Renewal

Part II: Con Man In the White House?

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By JAMES L. WICK

Alexander Norman joined the entourage of the Liberal Candidate at the insistence of his old friend, the Candidate's father. Norman "had paid no attention to politics" until this eye-opening experience, which he is describing in "Letters to Albert," his brother and law partner.

The first six letters appeared in HUMAN EVENTS *of June 9. Letters seven, eight and nine are printed below. The next "Letters to Albert" will appear next week.*

Letter No. 7

DEAR ALBERT: I have already mentioned in these letters the name of Tom Wiley, a member of our staff. He is a weekly newspaper editor who has never made much money, but now by latching onto Our Candidate, he hopes to make up for lost time. He's after the chairmanship of one of the regulatory commissions, he says.

After one term, he hopes to get a $50,000 job with one of the companies regulated.

Wiley can be brutally frank after a few drinks. Anything goes in politics, he says—so long as you keep out of the penitentiary. Last night, having his 5 o'clock cocktails, he started giving me a course in "urban renewal."

He said it is the latest device thought up to have Uncle Sam pay local expenses. As he explained it to me, it also turned out to be a beautiful scheme to turn Republican fat cats into New Deal cats' paws. Furthermore, said he, its possibilities for scandals will make Teapot Dome look like kid stuff.

Since urban renewal was new to me, I read a couple of pamphlets on the subject. For your information, here are the essentials.

Urban renewal promises the conversion of blighted areas, business and slum, into aesthetically-pleasing, well-balanced developments, serving the needs of the community. A city submits a plan for its purchase—under condemnation if necessary—of the blighted areas. The Federal government, if the plan gets its approval, will pay two-thirds of the loss sustained when the land is resold to private contractors who agree to construct developments satisfactory to the city and Federal planning agencies.

The Constitution allows private property to be taken under eminent domain only if it is needed for a "public use."

When you and I were in law school, "public use" was interpreted to mean what it says—"use by the public"—but this was changed by a Supreme Court decision on November 22, 1954. The Supreme Court opinion as written by Justice Douglas included these two extraordinary paragraphs:

"The concept of the public welfare is broad and inclusive . . . . The values it represents are spiritual as well as physical, aesthetic as well as monetary. It is within the power of the legislature to determine that the community should be beautiful as well as healthy, spacious as well as clean, well-balanced as well as carefully patrolled . . . .

"If owner after owner were permitted to resist these redevelopment programs on the ground that his particular property was not being used against the public interest, integrated plans for redevelopment would suffer greatly. The argument pressed on us is, indeed, a plea to substitute the landowner's standard of the public need for the standard prescribed by Congress."

With the 1954 decision, the lid was off. Government can take one man's private property and sell it (at a small fraction of its cost) to another man for his private use if the latter's use complies with the Grand Design.

Urban renewal is not slum clearance. It may include slum clearance; but, primarily, urban renewal is city-planning by the city government with the advice and financial help of the Federal government.

The Federal government agrees to pay two-thirds of the governmental cost of urban renewal, but the two-thirds may become three-fourths if the city pays for the planning. In fact the 66 per cent (or 75 per cent) can become 100 per cent if the City Fathers employ engineering consultants who know all the angles.

Travelling the country today are firms of consultants selling urban renewal to local chambers of commerce and city councils. Many of the consultants were formerly employed in the Federal agencies. They collect immense fees for showing "how to make a sucker out of Uncle Sam."

The consultants tell the city and chamber of commerce officials that their fees really cost the community nothing at all because they show how to maximize the credits allowed by the law for local expenditures against the 33 per cent the community is supposed to pay.

Here is a typical conversation between the consultant and the officials of the city and the chamber of commerce. Asks the consultant: "Wasn't your city planning to build a school over here and haven't you already sold the bonds for that? Haven't you, prior to urban renewal, been planning to put a playground in this neighborhood here? I am told that you have been committed for some time to build a new public library. We can show you how to apply these improvements which you are going to pay for anyway . . . against your local one-third as a part of the 'grants and aids' so that your city will have to put out almost no cash whatever.

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You will get credit for monies that you are going to spend anyway."

Sometimes this matter of credits is worked retroactively—to count projects already built. Pressure is constantly upon Congress to make the retroactive feature broader and, for that matter, to whittle away at the local one-third.

That's the essence of urban renewal. Now to return to Wiley. Prior to his visit to my hotel room, he had just concluded a meeting with three big-city mayors. They were the leaders of a movement to organize the Eastern States Mayors Association, an association that would have very high-sounding ideals and objectives, all intended to camouflage its single goal: to get money via the urban renewal route for their cities out of the Federal government.

Among such mayors, says Wiley, the idol is Philadelphia's Mayor Harrison Dilworth. Dilworth proudly tells his voters that he goes to Washington every two weeks to get Federal money for Philadelphia. Everything Philadelphia needs or wants, he thinks the rest of the country—not Philadelphia—should pay for. Dilworth's belief isn't hard to explain. His old man was a very rich man. All his life, young Dilworth has had only to wish for something and it came to him. Dilworth loves being a Prince Bountiful to the people of Philadelphia—with Uncle Sam picking up the tab.

Wiley told the three mayors: "Our Candidate's official position is that he wants the cities of America to be beautified. No more slums. No more run down areas.

"Each of you wants more money from Uncle Sam for your city. Improvements cost money. But you don't want to levy higher taxes. You might be defeated because your community wants some projects only if your own taxpayers won't have to pay for them. Your specialty (and mine when we're talking privately) is catering to the type of voter who wants things but doesn't want to pay for them. Therefore, get your city machines behind Our Candidate.

"If the election returns show your city gave us a big vote, you'll get all your improvements—at Uncle Sam's expense. If you don't give us the expected vote, we'll take a second look. There won't be enough money for everybody and we may always find faults with your program."

Wiley went on: "The really sensational news that I got out of these three mayors, all Democratic, is that the urban renewal program is tearing the vitals out of the Republican party. One of the mayors, Dalrymple of Metro City, said he expects to wreck the once-powerful Metro City Republican organization in the next couple of years—with urban renewal. He said that in Metro City, as in many other cities, the downtown fat cats (property owners to you) have been big contributors to the Republican party. But now those fat cats expect to make new fortunes out of urban renewal and they are willing to sell their souls to get it. Mayor Dalrymple said he is going to con some of them into writing campaign checks to the Democratic party. They can't expect to get rich with Democratic party help if at the same time they are supporting the opposition party, especially when the opposition party opposes Federally subsidized urban renewal.

"Mayor Dalrymple tells all civic gatherings that the enemy of the nationwide program to turn ugly American cities into the world's most beautiful cities are the hateful Budget balancers. He says, 'Turn out of office all who think of dollars first and people last.' The fat cats can read between the lines."

I carried the Wiley story to Roy the Reactionary, my newspaper friend. He said: "You don't know the half of it. The people of Metro City will get a shock when urban renewal really gets going. Their city council has passed resolutions saying the people of Metro City just don't want any more public housing. These fuddy duddies have got another think coming. They are not going to decide what's good for Metro City. The Washington Bureaucrats will decide."

I was getting confused by this time. I said: "I'm not up on all these things. How are you going to ram public housing down their throats?"

His reply: "Here's how. The urban renewal planners wait until the excitement about urban renewal reaches an all-time peak and the program in a given city has gained so much momentum that it cannot be stopped. The newspapers have been printing architect's drawings showing how the city will look after the slums have been removed. Everybody is happy. The arrangements between the city and the Federal government are about to be signed.

"Then the urban renewal crowd suddenly freezes. They exclaim: 'Why, the plans you submit show no place to go for all the poor people to be moved out of those slums you're tearing down. You've got to put a lot of public housing into your plans.'

"The Metro City Committee says: 'But our people object to public housing.'

" 'We're sorry,' say the Washington boys. 'You can't have urban renewal without public housing.'

" 'But it's our city. You told us in the beginning that we would decide what we wanted.'

" 'Sure you decide, but your plans have to meet with our approval.'

" 'What's wrong with our plans?'

" 'They benefit only the rich. Your downtown property owners are going to get rich. The poor have to get something out of it too. They get public housing. Take it or leave it. No public housing, no urban renewal.'

"Their opposition to public housing collapses, of course," continued Roy.

"Public housing has become extremely unpopular of late because after a few years, all those brand new buildings turn out to be new slums. Voters are learning an old truth: People make slums, slums

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don't make people. They are also finding out that it would be cheaper to donate all public housing to its occupants in the first place instead of paying for it twice more in the form of subsidies over the next 40 years. Public housing has been losing its glamour and was becoming a definite liability to its political sponsors until urban renewal came along to give it a new shot in the arm. The Socialist 'national planners' have got to get more public housing if their objective is to be realized. When the subsidized poor, paying only one-third of normal rentals, can live in far better and much newer housing than self-sustaining families with much higher incomes, the middle income people get discontented; they will demand their share of housing subsidies. After a while, 90 per cent of the country's housing will be socialized. So fast comes the revolution that people won't know what is happening until it's too late.

"The capitalists, falling for all the left-wing programs that will make them a fast buck, bring about their own downfall. You see the Con Game angle now?"

— — —

More in my next letter.

Yours, Alex

Letter No. 8

DEAR ALBERT: Since writing about urban renewal in my last letter, I have just learned another little angle—how the bureaucracy works in mysterious ways its wonders to perform.

One of the urban renewal chiefs came up from Washington and spent the day with us. He thought he was among friends. He was, except for me.

As the conversation warmed up, I mentioned in my innocent ignorance that the estimated cost of the urban renewal program for Metro City was simply fantastic. Metro City is only one city, and not a very big one at that. The current total Federal appropriation for urban renewal would be a mere drop in the bucket if other cities have similarly grandiose ideas. I asked how can anyone in his wildest moments ever expect that Congress will appropriate all the money required? Or are all these cities having pipe dreams?

"Mr. Norman," replied the urban renewal chief, "you are about to learn one of the tricks of the trade. We know what we're doing. Here's what will happen. When Metro City plans have been completed and all the downtown property owners and the department store tycoons expectantly begin watching for the demolition squads to clean out their rundown areas, then and not until then do we drop the A-bomb on them. A Metro City Committee will call upon us and ask when all this beautification is about to begin. In our most indignant tones, we will answer:

" 'You certainly know that Congress hasn't appropriated any money for your program. Oh, you needn't be alarmed; there's nothing to worry about. Congress has approved the principle of urban renewal. The moral obligation to pay its share of your program has been established. Now all that is necessary is to get the money for Metro City out of Congress. If your Congressman is a good Congressman, if he is alive to the needs of his district, he can get the money for you.' "

As usual, Roy the Reactionary had to take me one step further and show me the fiendish cleverness of the last argument. If the local Congressman is an enemy of Big Spending, Centralized Government, Inflation and High Taxes, he will be opposed to the principle that the Federal government should pay the costs of local improvements. But after urban renewal agents from Washington have whipped up the appetites of the towns and cities and aroused the cupidity of the business and property-owning classes—those who should be in the conservative Congressman's corner—how successfully can he resist? A Democrat who promises to "get money from Washington" will certainly defeat him in the next general election if a Liberal Republican hasn't licked him in the primaries. The incumbent conservative may decide that he can save his own hide by preventive action. He may choose right now to get in harmony with "modern" ideas.

Roy the Reactionary concluded: "Mr. Norman, do you see why Socialists feel contemptuous about your greedy capitalists? Just to make a few dollars now, some of your downtown fat cats are willing to sell their children and grandchildren down the river."

— — —

I'm beginning to see. But my education is far from complete. I'm hanging on to this job as long as they will let me.

Yours, Alex

Supplemental Notes

BRUCE ALGER, Republican Congressman from Dallas, is one of the few members of Congress willing to criticize the urban renewal program.

He says: "There are inherent dangers . . . unthought of by the average citizen. A number of former executive directors of public housing authorities are now in prison, including the former directors of Houston, Galveston, Los Angeles, Contra Costa County, California, and others."

Alger quotes from *The Challenge of Housing*, a book by Langdon W. Post, former chairman of the New York City Housing Authority—and an advocate of public housing:

"Another danger signal flashes from the political implications and opportunities inherent in a vast public housing program . . . .

"In a housing program, there are sites to be bought, houses to be built, and tenants to be selected. Each step holds great possibilities for the politician and the businessman. The real estate operator has land to sell. The banks have mortgages which they are anxious to have rescued. The architect has plans for sale. There are building contracts to be awarded. The inhabitants of the slums are tumbling over themselves to get into the developments, which means that there will not only be the usual jobs for those in control to give out, but apartments as well.

"This last plum is a new brand of political fruit which has enormous possibilities for exploitation.

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Imagine the golden opportunities latent in a $500,000,000 housing program in New York City. Commissions, profits, fees, jobs, and finally, apartments for at least 200,000 voters! It is a bonanza beyond the wildest dreams of the most optimistic politician."

Congressman Alger says:

"Another financial danger is the windfall, the heavy profit, which might be made by individuals in the private development after purchase of the land. Profit in free enterprise is one thing, but profit off the taxpayer is another . . . .

"Would it not be possible under this law to buy up older areas, as older downtown sections, sell them under eminent domain valuations . . . then buy them back from the urban renewal authority at a written-down price, to redevelop and make a handsome profit?"

Alger calls attention to a letter dated May 1, 1956, from the Urban Renewal Administration showing the shrinkage of value in land acquired for urban renewal projects in four cities. The letter says:

"The figures . . . show the comparison between actual cost of acquiring land and the final sale price to the redeveloper. No overhead costs or other expense has been included.

"The figures:

"Baltimore, Maryland — $1,444,155; $300,000; shrinkage 79.23 per cent.

"Jersey City, New Jersey, 2 projects—$3,966,785; $850,000; shrinkage 78.57 per cent.

"New York City, 10 projects—$82,199,479; $25,652,107; shrinkage 68.79 per cent.

"Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2 projects—$1,514,-994; $276,074; shrinkage 81.78 per cent."

Congressman Alger said:

"Why the excessive drop in value when raw land, strategically located, is cleared and ready for use? Generally, the availability for a higher use should enhance the land values sufficiently to offset the cost."

Letter No. 9

DEAR ALBERT: I dropped into our Chicago headquarters last night to dictate some letters. As I was about to lock up, an octogenarian walked in and said he'd like to ask a question. I said, go ahead.

His question:

"I have read all of Your Candidate's speeches. He is promising everybody everything. If he makes good only half of them, the Federal Budget will certainly go up by 20, 30, or 40 billions a year. I'm an old man, so I make no apologies for asking a very old-fashioned question. I ask you: where oh where is the money coming from?"

Roy the Reactionary was sitting with me. Roy said: "I don't work here so I can speak frankly. The answer is: by inflation, of course. And when inflation really gets going, Mr. Norman's Candidate, if he is then in the White House, will scream that the fast-climbing prices are due to corporate greed and the government has got to control prices and wages. Prices, to be tightly controlled; wages, to be loosely controlled. The COPE-ADA people have no objections to wage controls providing prices are also controlled and they do all the controlling. They believe in controls."

The patriarch said: "Since everybody claims to be opposed to inflation and Your Candidate is certainly promoting inflation, I now ask you where are the votes coming from?"

"Where will the votes come from?" cried Roy. "You ought to know where the votes come from. This Candidate is catering to voters who haven't yet grown up. Whatever their chronological age, they think like the teenagers who cannot curb their appetites and who 'borrow' against next week's allowance. But 'next week,' instead of paying back what they borrowed, they want both another extension and a new loan. Their weak or indulgent parents have never taught them that things have to be paid for. Whatever you want, you are entitled to. This child-centered civilization is exactly what is needed as the breeding ground for the kind of people who will vote for that kind of Candidate. That's where the votes come from, sir; from the infantile who never stop believing in Santa Claus, no matter how old they get to be."

— — —

We're getting toward the end of the campaign. I'm growing up politically. I'll be ready soon for graduation.

Yours, Alex

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Human Events THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

Vol. XVII, No. 24 June 16, 1960 Section 1 — News

ROCKEFELLER: *Childe Harold II* ..... (page 1)

REUTHER: *Soapy's smoke screen* ..... (page 2)

CATHOLIC VOTE: *Their press speaks* .... (page 2)

DAKOTA: *COPE in action* ..... (page 4)

CONGO: *Whites out—Reds in?* ..... (page 4)

The Rich Man's Harold Stassen: Such is the epithet attached to Governor Rockefeller after his tantrum against Nixon last week. Like Childe Harold, Rocky obviously sought to use the White House ante-room as his rostrum for spite against Nixon, but after getting no nod from Ike, preferred to launch the attack a few hours later, after he consulted his "brains" in New York.

The "brains," no one here doubts, is his speechwriter Emmet John Hughes (see Section III, "Rockefeller: The Roosevelt Republican"), who is on record as wanting a Democratic Congress and who has said he would vote for a Democrat in place of Nixon. Hughes gave him the Democratic "line" point by point.

Senator Goldwater emphasized that this policy is identical with that of all the Democratic candidates, and suggested that Rockefeller should attend the Democratic convention in Los Angeles, rather than the GOP convention in Chicago.

Other Republicans on Capitol Hill go further. They suggest that the spoiled "poor little rich boy" get out of the party and start a Third Party. With most of the New York GOP in revolt on Rocky's door-step, the only supporters he could find would be mostly Democrats. Some GOP politicos point out that a third ticket headed by Rockefeller would get no GOP votes, but would only deduct from the Democratic vote. They recall how Old Bob La-Follette bolted in 1924 against the Republican party and the only accomplishment of his Progressive ticket was to deduct votes from the Democrats.

In addition to these anti-Rockefeller sentiments there also arises no little criticism of Nixon. "Stop coddling Rocky"—is one cry from Republicans, although it is agreed that Nixon in his New Jersey press interview effectively rebutted Nelson.

Also, Republican regulars dislike intensely the "freeze out" treatment which Nixon gives Republican conservative leaders. Senator Goldwater has been shut out of all consultations or position in the party councils. Although he showed up in the HUMAN EVENTS Vice Presidential poll as the winner, not one word from the Vice President's office comes of "harmony" with Goldwater, or Senator Styles Bridges for that matter. The latter, many say tartly, should have received the post of permanent chairmanship of the GOP convention, and Goldwater should have been made keynoter. If Nixon wants to impair the morale of his decisive base of rank-and-file support, this is one way to do it. And—it is remarked—if the ineffable Attorney General Rogers is admitted to the top Nixon leadership, then a sit-on-hands movement may well start.

Word from California reinforces this view. While Nixon, in last week's primary in that state, did "pretty well," he did not do "brilliantly." Beating the vote for Governor Pat Brown, now in bad odor, was no great achievement for Nixon.

Some in Washington wonder if the same Nixon policy of shunning conservatives in California deprived him of the militant support last week which might have created a striking victory.

Goldwater Guess: Although Senator Barry Goldwater has become enshrined as the "conservative conscience" of the country, it is well to remember that he is also a shrewd down-to-earth dopester on the chances in the current political steeplechase. For one thing, he is not bemused by the chatter of egghead columnists (whom he shuns). For another, he is an up-to-the-minute student of the tides of popular favor, since he is tirelessly criss-crossing the country in his labors as Chairman of the GOP Senatorial Committee and can get up a very good late-spring book on how the horses are running.

Therefore, the Capital is impressed by his last week's analysis. "A couple of weeks ago," he remarked, "I would have said that Adlai Stevenson would be the Democratic nominee. But in view of the positions they have taken on the summit conference collapse, I think both he and Kennedy have lost ground."

Nixon recently tossed off an opinion that the Massachusetts man would be the Democratic candidate most difficult to beat. But Goldwater does not agree.

He says: "Johnson has played it smart by

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standing behind the President and not trying to blame him for the summit conference failure. He has gained stature by his attitude." The more Khrushchev pours insults on the President, the more American voters are going to resent it and to resent those who think that there is any profit in trying to do business with this arrogant dictator." Goldwater added that Nixon will gain politically from being singled out by Khrushchev as an American official with whom he doesn't want to deal.

Goldwater has his own cold-turkey guess as to what Democratic ticket would prove the most formidable for Nixon. He said a Johnson-Kennedy ticket would be the most difficult for the Republicans to defeat in the Presidential election. He is of the opinion that Senator Lyndon Johnson "could get a lot of votes from Republicans who think he is a conservative. Of course, his voting record is just about as liberal as that of any of the other Democratic candidates, but he is regarded as a conservative."

This last appraisal of Lyndon is based on cold statistics. The ACA-Index shows the Texan's voting consistency in support of constitutional principles to be only 10 *per cent, close to Kennedy's which is* 11 *per cent. Goldwater gets a* 98 *per cent rating on the Index.*

In Reuther-Land: A HUMAN EVENTS correspondent in Detroit reports on the significance and implications of the endorsement of Kennedy for Democratic Presidential nominee by Governor "Soapy" Williams, as follows:

"Despite United Auto Workers' denials that Reuther had anything to do with 'Soapy's' support of Kennedy, everyone here discounts such denials. 'Soapy,' as retiring Governor, has no power whatsoever in making such a political decision.

"It is believed that the denials are simply a public relations smoke screen for the Reuther leadership. The labor boss has been concerned at the growing popular acceptance of the story that the UAW, by swinging the Michigan delegation behind Kennedy, is simply paying off the Massachusetts Senator for his role (and that of his brother Robert) in the Senate Rackets (McClellan) investigation of the past three years; that role was to concentrate the probe on Hoffa (Reuther's enemy) and to hinder attempts of Republicans on the committee to spotlight Reuther's role in bloody Kohler and Perfect Circle strikes.

"As for 'Soapy,' he remains Walter's Boy. Indeed, it is believed the reward to 'Soapy' Williams for coming out for Kennedy will be the post of Secretary of Commerce in the Kennedy Cabinet. In fact, some believe that this idea may have originated with Reuther. He would certainly take a sardonic satisfaction in having the cabinet member delegated to speak for business as his own Boy.

"Biggest revelation, attendant on the Williams endorsement of Little Jack, has been the weakness of the Stevenson candidacy in Michigan. A month ago, before the U-2, Summit Affair and Adlai's appeasement stand, the state Democratic machine wanted Adlai—and 'Soapy' Williams would not have dared depart from this policy. But today, the Reutherized Democratic apparatus, while privately still very admiring of Adlai, considers his candidacy 'not realistic,' in view of the shift of popular feeling against Stevenson.

"There is little doubt in Detroit that the battle within the Democratic party is shaping up into one of Reuther (with his followers, Kennedy and Symington) as against Senator Lyndon Johnson, allied with Speaker Rayburn and possibly former President Truman. If these forces deadlock, they could not take Adlai as a compromise since the summit imbroglio. Would Reuther then make a deal with Johnson (who is famous for his deals)? Not likely—so runs opinion here in the auto capital.

"Reuther possesses a very deep aversion to the old South as a factor in the Democratic party, and would prefer an outright split with what he calls the 'Southern Bourbons.'"

That Catholic Vote: Although Candidate Kennedy apparently has been taking for granted the support of the bulk of Catholic voters, no little evidence (overlooked in the big Metropolitan newspapers) has been accumulating that the young Senator fails to see a considerable tide against him among these voters.

Father J. B. Carol (see his HUMAN EVENTS article on "Kennedy for President? A Catholic Priest Says No," June 2) is by no means a lone voice among Catholic editors. His piece has won wide circulation throughout the country.

Two other Catholic editors assume critical positions as to Senator Kennedy. (1) Patrick Scanlan, a Catholic layman editing the Brooklyn diocesan organ, the *Tablet,* severely takes Adlai Stevenson to task in an editorial, winding up with a reminder of the fact that Kennedy says Adlai will be Secretary of State of any Democratic candidate. (2) Joseph Matt, editor of *The Wanderer,* a lay Catholic weekly of St. Paul, Minnesota, takes a sharp editorial stand against Kennedy as a candidate. These two papers—unlike most Catholic diocesan organs—have wide circulation nationally.

Canvassing sentiment among Catholic editors across the country, HUMAN EVENTS receives the following reactions. "There is a strong undercurrent," says an important priest-editor, "in the Catholic press against Kennedy." Others cautiously said, "We won't do anything to help him. But we won't do anything to stop him either." A midwestern editor, a priest, said, "I don't think you'll find anybody openly supporting Kennedy in the Catholic press. Many reasons. For one thing, he had Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., working for him in West Virginia, while at the same time brother Congressman James Roosevelt out in California was aiding and abetting students who were rioting for the purpose of abolishing the House Un-American

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Activities Committee. And then there is Kennedy's play-up to Adlai the Appeaser . . . . "

In Washington, it is noted that on May 11 the Catholic Press Association met in the Capital. Vice President Nixon spoke at its luncheon and was well received. Senator Kennedy was invited to the association's breakfast attended by many members of Congress; his absence was noticeable.

Dixie Electors: In Alabama the States Rights slate of electors thought it had lost six of eleven contests to the "loyalists" (pledged to support for President any Democrat nominated) in the recent runoff election. But a final official recount now gives the States Righters a 6-5 edge—and a psychological boost to States Rights activity throughout the South.

In pledging to withhold their votes from a Presidential nominee hostile to the South, the States Righters said they would favor voting instead for another Democrat who is sympathetic to Southern racial problems.

Capitol Camera: Washington notes the startling change in former Secretary of State Dean Acheson's foreign policy outlook. A recent speech showed his favoring a policy tougher than Dulles espoused. Rumor is that Dean now recognizes that he was completely in error in his handling of the Far East situation—focal point of GOP attacks on him.

• Since *Izvestia* reprinted Walter Lippmann's column attacking the Administration on the U-2 affair, Lippmann is known around town as "Moscow's favorite columnist." Mischievous Washingtonians want to promote a public debate between Lippmann and Acheson.

• Strong sentiment for Goldwater for GOP convention keynoter was throttled, in last week's Republican meeting in the Capital, by pressure from GOP Chairman Morton.

• Old Stevenson supporters Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., John K. Galbraith and Henry Steele Commager are writing their ultra-"liberal" friends urging them to switch to Kennedy—the message no doubt being that in a TV age its easier to sell a young and handsome appeaser than a bald and portly one.

• A slouch hat-wearing veteran newsman, closer to the New York Democratic organization than most, now says Kennedy will get 100 of the state's 114 votes on the first ballot.

• Representative H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) notes that $50,000 of taxpayers' money will go to Cornell University for the study of bird calls. Gross hopes that someday a Congress-endowed foundation will "make a study and record for posterity the anguished sounds of taxpayers" thus pilfered.

• The Labor Department has printed and mailed at taxpayers' expense several hundred reprints of a *Fortune* magazine article calling Secretary Mitchell a likely Vice Presidential possibility.

• Nevada's conservative former Senator George W. "Molly" Malone will seek that state's lone House seat this November.

• Lyle C. Wilson, UPI columnist, has noted that Marx's manifesto 112 years ago demanded a "heavy progressive or graduated income tax," but that Khrushchev now boasts: "Income tax abolished in the USSR." Yet the Communist *Worker* in N. Y. plumps for the US income tax. Apparently, the Reds favor the graduated income tax in countries they want to destroy and want it abolished in countries they wish to build up.

Federal Pay Hike: The House bill granting a nine per cent increase to Federal employees, expected to be debated by the House this week, will probably pass both the House and Senate and then face a Presidential veto, according to informed sources on Capitol Hill. The bill, dislodged from the House Rules Committee when 219 Congressmen signed a discharge petition last week, will, if enacted, cost the Government $780 million.

The Government workers, led by the postal unions, are demanding the pay raise although the cost of living has gone up only slightly since their last pay hike in 1958, and despite the fact they have been given seven pay raises in 15 years.

The House seems certain of passing the measure, since a majority voted for discharge, and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson is also expected to push it through the Upper House, although it faces an almost certain Presidential veto.

Speculation here is that Johnson has an understanding with William A. Doherty, head of the National Association of Letter Carriers and the Government Employees' Council, who has endorsed Johnson for President. Many predict Johnson will see to it that the pay hike passes in return for Doherty's campaign support. Johnson needs some labor union support in his Presidential quest.

"Cultural Exchange": A first-hand report of the ways in which the Reds use "cultural exchanges" to carry on spying and recruit new agents has come from West Germany.

In a story little-noticed by the US press, a former Soviet agent who defected to West Germany told authorities there that a Red spy had tried to hire him as an agent again.

The Red spy, a colonel in the Soviet espionage apparatus, was in West Germany disguised as the assistant director of a Ukranian chorus, which was on a German tour as part of a "cultural exchange program" instituted several years ago by Moscow.

Washington is now wondering how many "assistant directors" in the various Soviet song-and-dance groups which have visited this country were also MVD agents.

• In the light of the above, an ominous note

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appears in a US Information Agency study of Red China's activities in Latin America. Said USIA: "Great stress has been given the development of cultural relations with Latin America. During the year, Peiping sent an acrobatic troupe, a delegation of newsmen, and trade union representatives. The delegations were well received in several Latin American states."

North Dakota: As the June 28 special Senate election between Republican Governor John Davis and left-wing Democratic Representative Quentin Burdick nears, Walter Reuther's Committee on Political Education (COPE) has begun to "educate" in its usual manner.

In the larger cities hundreds of workers have been recruited, reportedly through the state employment office, to make an "educational survey." They are paid $1 an hour. The "survey" consists of a door-to-door canvass in an attempt to influence Republicans to vote for Burdick and Democrats to turn out against Davis. COPE is working through locals of the ultra-leftist Farmers Union, for which Burdick once served as counsel.

In what North Dakota Republicans consider an obvious play to overshadow Nixon's June 19-20 visit to the state, Kennedy has promised to fly out for a June 19 birthday party for Burdick.

Congo Crisis: Although the Belgian government attempts to reassure Western observers that the June 30 transition of self government for 13 million Belgian Congo natives will go smoothly, another Cuba or worse may be in the making.

In six weeks of electioneering before the Congo's first vote May 30 (the white population of 100,000 engineers, technicians, missionaries and dependents could not vote), spear fights between supporters of rival candidates took scores of lives. Said *Time*: "Most of the half-naked, illiterate black voters had no idea what the candidates were talking about."

Aside from concern for the welfare of the European population upon independence—native demagogs have promised their flock the homes, cars, and even wives of the whites after June 30—Western observers are worried about the huge area's stability and economy.

It is pointed out that, with hundreds of highly trained whites leaving daily and only 16 college graduates among the country's entire native population, a great void of trained manpower may be the case in a few months, and that the Russians will be only too happy to provide "technical assistance."

Fatal Error: Karl von Wiegand, dean of all American foreign correspondents, writes HUMAN EVENTS from Switzerland to praise Governor Earle's article (March 24, 1960), "Roosevelt's Fatal Error." The piece describes how Earle contacted the German underground which worked against Hitler during World War II, and tried vainly to get Roosevelt's cooperation with anti-Hitlerite German Generals to overthrow the Fuerher and end the war. Von Wiegand has been foreign correspondent for Hearst newspapers for close to a half century, covering both World Wars and their aftermaths.

He says: "I too know something of that 'fatal error.' What Governor Earle so vividly writes about was the same proposal made to me, before America had entered the war. It was made to me by some of the highest General Staff officers of the German Army who were secretly in the first conspiracy against Hitler which—however——did not involve his assassination.

"I knew Hitler for 21 years and probably better than any other American and my study of him was perhaps more psychological than political. I last saw him July 10, 1940 in Belgium. I was in Rome and I received a message from Ribbentrop through the German Ambassador in Rome, that Hitler wished me to come to him. When I arrived, Hitler was surrounded by his personal SS staff and before them, he asked me to become his peace-envoy to take his peace proposal to London. I refused and gave him my reasons, that the British would not talk to him and told him that the British were determined upon the complete destruction of Germany militarily, politically, economically, and would be satisfied with nothing less.

"Hitler jumped up out of his chair, ran up and down, shouting at the top of his voice: 'you have been telling me that for 20 years.' I replied, 'yes and I have to tell you that now again.' He argued for forty minutes, but could not move me."

Von Wiegand goes on: "I knew Roosevelt fairly well, though I did not see him often. He hated Germany and Japan and seemed to me to be under the hypnotic influence of Stalin. The recent Summit, with all its uncertainties and world wide anxieties, is the consequence of Roosevelt's 'fatal error.'"

Von Weigand says he will relate these stories in his forthcoming memoirs of 60 years experience as a journalist, 48 of them as foreign correspondent.

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HUMAN EVENTS
COMMENTARY

A wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government.

—Jefferson

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Vol. XVII, No. 24 — Section II June 16, 1960

Large Vote Needed to Match Unions

Strong Turnout Minimizes Pressure Group Influence

By Raymond Moley

My answer to the old question whether a big turnout on election day is worthwhile, considering the doubtful enlightenment of the millions who generally abstain, is a positive affirmative. That is why the tremendous get-out-the-vote effort of the Rexall Drug Company and many cooperating groups and companies is so important. A bit of explanation of this opinion is in order.

Without the strong support of the labor unions, the Democratic party would be in the minority. A few statistics show this to be true. Until the entrance of the unions into politics 25 years ago, the aggregate of the vote turned out at Presidential elections increased roughly with the population. Except in unusual years, the Democratic party was in a minority. But beginning with 1940, the two parties have been running at the same relative level, except in the Eisenhower turnout in 1952 and 1956 which was created by the personality of the candidate.

The Democratic vote in the five Presidential elections beginning with 1940 has been, in millions, 27, 25.5, 26, 27, 26. The Republican vote in the first three of these was almost exactly the same—22,000,000.

The difference of four or five million between the parties has been almost entirely due to the drive, skilled organization, and money of the unions. This was anticipated by two of the smartest politicians of our time, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Edward J. Flynn, his closest and shrewdest political lieutenant. Both of these told me in 1935 that unless the Democratic party got some sort of auxiliary help, it would decline once more into a minority status. That is the main reason why the Roosevelt Administration did so much to encourage not only bigger unions under the Wagner Act but labor-in-politics.

But while the two parties have remained on a dead level in the past 20 years, the eligible vote has increased by what I would estimate at 20 million. These, along with somewhere near 20 million more, are the sleeping electorate.

Thus, a small vote emphasizes the importance of minorities, many of them with something to gain at the expense of the great majority of the taxpayers of the nation. A minority vote of the whole electorate means minority power.

I am not saying that so long as they stay within the law the unions should not try to get out their vote and influence. What is needed is that everybody get into the act.

It should always be remembered that people who are running for office are influenced by the electorate they have to face. If the electorate should be say 80 million rather than about 50 million, the candidates would make their appeals more truly national. Minorities would have less influence. And we all would benefit.

THE TERRIBLE THREAT

What'll It Cost, Stu?

From the New York Daily News

Senator Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.) takes some pot shots at President Eisenhower's handling of the summit conference, says our economy is expanding at snail's pace, and proclaims that this expansion must be hurried up.

If he were President, Symington would be for heavier defense spending, more welfare state stuff, more social security, more federally aided housing, and so on and so forth.

We move that the Senator now put a price tag on each of these goodies, and furnish an estimate as to how far taxes would have to be raised to finance all of them.

And don't try to kid the people, Senator, that all these things would be financed out of an "expanding economy" without tax boosts. That's a hogwash phrase beloved of inflationists, and it is nothing more.

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Urban Affairs Cabinet Post?

From the Wall Street Journal

Norman P. Mason, the Federal housing chief, hinted the other day that President Eisenhower plans to expand his Cabinet to include somebody who would look after urban housing and development problems.

The Administration, it would seem, believes that it is not enough to hand out more than $300 million a year to remodel the nation's cities. Now another leaf is to be fitted into the long Cabinet table to accommodate a fellow who will keep the President up to date on how each troubled city is faring.

Let's put aside for the moment the futility of the public-housing idea in general and Federal aid for public housing in particular. Let's consider instead just the absurdity of putting a man in the President's Cabinet to do the job that in all reason is the responsibility of the municipalities and their respective states. Creation of a Secretary of Urban Affairs, or whatever the office is to be called, can only cast a long shadow over home rule, can only substitute bureaucratic edict for community judgment, can only broaden and tighten Washington's grip on our whole society.

Fight City Hall? The day may not be too far distant when, for all the nation, there's only one City Hall to fight.

Guilt-Plagued Ultra-Liberals Oppose Fight Against Reds

By Martin Dies from the Houston Chronicle

James Roosevelt has renewed his attempt to abolish the committee on un-American activities. For 17 years the ultraliberals have tried to abolish the committee. While they have failed, they have succeeded in hamstringing the investigation. They have harassed and abused every vigorous and conscientious chairman to such an extent and they have influenced the appointment of new members to the committee until the investigation has become timid and fearful.

Because of constant criticism the committee on un-American activities has leaned over backward to avoid mistakes. Some congressional investigations such as the Black civil liberties committee engaged in tactics which shocked and outraged the nation, but no one heard any outcray from the ultraliberals.

As a matter of history the findings of the committee have been proven correct by events and revelations. The gravest threat to our country is communism and the committee on un-American activities is the only agency of government with the necessary power to subpoena witnesses and hold hearings.

The real reason for this unrelenting and ceaseless opposition is the fact that the ultraliberals allowed themselves to be used and exploited by the Communists. Rather than confess their stupidity and gullibility they throw up a smoke screen of vicious attacks and misrepresentations directed at the committee which exposed their complicity.

There is another reason for their association in Communist fronts. The ultraliberals and Communists have more in common than is generally understood. Both believe in the omnipotent state and government guaranteed and supervised security from the cradle to the grave.

Since the committee on un-American activities stands for Americanism and free enterprise, it is hated by the ultraliberals. But the time has come when the ultraliberals should be labeled with their true name of Socialists.

Why Soft Kids Become Softer

From the Cleveland Plain Dealer

Perhaps it was the stones we lifted, or the bushels of wet sand, but the muscles are yowling today all the way from the trapezius down to the flexor digitorum longus. There is a tightness in the bicepts femoris, and an ache in the gluteus maximus when we sit down.

We are prepared to admit that after a winter of inactivity we are soft, but this isn't nearly as important as the fact that a lot of American youngsters are a lot softer. We're willing to bet that a lot of them couldn't even lift a bushel of wet sand.

Why are so many of our children without the developing muscles children ought to have? One reason so many of them have no legs worthy of the name is that they have such strong thumbs—exercised in chiseling rides. Another is that they have no jobs to do; pop hires somebody else to mow the lawn and shovel the snow while Sonny Boy sits in front of the TV set and eats candy.

Some years ago 15,000 American school children were given the same physical tests European children had breezed through. The results were almost shameful.

Recently President Eisenhower expressed his concern over the softness of American youth. On the same day the New York City Board of Education made public a short course for junior and senior high schools next year—a course intended to help the kids achieve a happy home life.

But did the course include studies in How to Mow a Lawn, How to Walk Two Miles Without Fainting, How to Swing a 10-Pound Sledge, How to Hold Up Your End of a Two Man Saw, How to Carry a Heavy Ladder? It did not. The course covered "Group Dating, Double Dating, Single Dating, Steady Dating."

Is it any wonder our kids are soft? It's a miracle they can walk at all!

Was Edison Illiterate?

Arbitrary Literacy Criterion Distorts Image of the South

From the Nashville Banner

What is "illiteracy?" How do you define, or measure it? Beyond the customary use of the term—perhaps an oversimplification—to describe those who cannot read and write, what else does it include?

The question is prompted by an editorial statement in the Atlanta Constitution: "Last year there were 1,565,000 Southerners 14 years of age or over who were classed as illiterate because they had less than six years of schooling, according to the Atlanta field office of the U.S. Department of Commerce."

It is unfortunate when anybody's formal education stops in the sixth grade. The Banner yields to none in the emphasis put on the importance of education; of finishing high school, and of going on if possible to complete college work. It is a deplorable thing when circumstances, real or imagined, impel a youngster to quit school. But isn't there some term less stigmatizing than "illiterate" to classify people who didn't finish grammar school but who CAN read and write and may actually be the employers of other people possessed of college degrees?

That certainly is not suggested in disparagement of education—which more and more is essential to development of the individual's full potential. Persons deprived of formal schooling are under increasing handicap. Yet if the term "illiterate" is to be applied arbitrarily at the sixth grade level, who is to say that a few years hence it won't be employed to describe the rank and file of millions who aren't Ph. D's?

Thomas A. Edison, who went to school just three months, surely would have been surprised to have learned that he was "illiterate." There were some Presidents of the United States, too, who would have come within that same classification—including Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Jackson, and Andrew Johnson.

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Economy Needs Breathing Room

Economic Intelligence

Floors and ceilings are fine for houses but wrong for our economic system. Our economy is no static structure. It's a fast-moving machine with a built-in system of automatic controls.

Tampering with the self-regulating devices is hazardous. Nevertheless, we have tampered with interest rates, wages and prices. Presently, we are bumping our heads on interest rate ceilings. Soon we may be stumbling over a rising wage floor and higher price supports. Artificial limits on interest, wages and prices not only hamper the smooth functioning of our free market economy; they rarely accomplish their narrow purposes.

The countless interest rate ceilings in federal and state laws distort economic development and discriminate against certain economic groups. *However "do-good" their motivation, they actually can have no effect in lowering the cost of borrowing in the economy as a whole.*

Wage floors have a laudatory purpose but have undesirable side effects. An arbitrary minimum wage rise, to the extent that it is effective, tends to raise prices, reduce investment incentives and create unemployment. It is inherently inconsistent with the free market system. Similarly, floors and ceilings in the price structure disrupt the competitive processes and often create enormous problems of disequilibrium—the wheat surplus problem is a good example.

Free and fluid interest rates, wages and prices are prerequisites for top efficiency in our competitive economy. Economic floors and ceilings can be tolerated only when they do not interfere with competitive adjustments—in short when they are totally ineffective. It would be wiser to eliminate them wherever possible rather than raise them periodically to accommodate and promote inflationary pressures. De Gaulle quickly found he had to sweep away these controls.

Bureaucratic Rule

By Congressman James Utt

We are rapidly coming to a point where a complete change of elected officials, including Congress and the White House, can mean little change in policy. You are governed more and more by people for whom you have never voted, for whom you never will vote, whom you have never seen, and whom you cannot recall by your vote. They are entrenched in the boards, bureaus and commissions, even at the policy level. For example . . . I know that much of the policy of [the Labor] Department is set by Civil Service employees who have been with the Department for twenty years, and they have no intention, now or ever, of recommending to the Secretary of Labor any policy which does not fit their personal philosophy of government.

Congress must assume a great deal of the blame for constantly delegating powers and duties which rightly belong to Congress. These delegations of power generally take place under a temporary emergency situation, and once delegated, they are never returned.

Agriculture Success Story

By Congressman Peter Frelinghuysen, Jr.

In 1953, the beef industry was in serious trouble. Overburdened with surpluses, cattle prices were falling and controls had resulted in a black market. One of the Administration's first actions was the removal of controls on beef. The black market cleared up almost overnight and eventually Americans "ate their way" out of the beef surplus. Credit should also go to the industry for aggressive merchandising.

Today, the beef market is growing. We have eaten upwards of 80 pounds per person every year since 1955, compared to 66 pounds ten years ago and only 56 pounds 20 years ago. Beef cattle prices in 1959 averaged about $22.20 per hundred-weight. This is the fourth highest yearly average on record. All this was accomplished *without* price supports.

All of which proves that the free market works . . . when it is given a chance.

Reluctant Punster Stevenson Dons Sobersides Cloak for'60

By Walter Trohan

If anyone has any doubts that Adlai E. Stevenson desires a third Democratic nomination above everything—except possibly a fourth nomination—he need only take a look at the new Adlai in his speeches and writings.

Stevenson has thrown away the little black loose-leaf notebook in which he jotted down campaign jokes that caught his interest such as his paraphrase in 1956 of the Communist Manifesto: "Arise ye eggheads, you have nothing to lose but your yolks." Such labored and supercilious humor, which is often characteristic of professorial pundits, was an outstanding feature of Stevenson's two losing campaigns.

In his first trial for the Presidency Stevenson was warned that it is fatal for a politician to be humorous until after he is elected. No people anywhere vote for jesters. They want to elect men who will do their worrying.

"Politicians are often the most conventional, hidebound fellows in business," was Stevenson's observation in 1952. "Eventually you discover you can do what you think is best and it generally works out all right. You get into a bottomless pit if you try to figure out the consequences of every step."

Stevenson laughed himself into the bottomless pit in two elections. Now he has sobered up. In 1952 and 1956 he played the reluctant punster. Now he is the shy sobersides. In the past he counted on humor rather than histrionics to win the attention of audiences. Now, he is hoping to attract attention because audiences can be beguiled into thinking he has something to say.

No one enjoyed his campaign humor more than Stevenson did. In 1952 and 1956 when he followed films or tapes of his speeches, his aides found that Stevenson was trying to hide his grin before one of his jokes came up.

One of the latest moves in the undercover campaign for Stevenson is the circulation of a prediction by Louis H. Bean, former New Deal economic adviser in the department of agriculture, that Stevenson could trounce Vice President Nixon in November. Bean, who is acclaimed as the only man who predicted Harry S. Truman's victory in 1948, says Stevenson would get 54 per cent of the vote and Nixon 46 per cent.

Bean, an amiable and gifted immigrant from Lithuania, has gotten much mileage out of a prediction he didn't make. He is aware a prophet can't lose if he picks both sides.

In a book "How to Predict Elections," published in July, 1948, he was as cryptic as the Delphic oracle. He said: "The first possibility, suggested by the records, is the election of a Democratic Congress and President." But he hedged this prediction on the same sentence by adding that if a third party entered the field "One of the results might be a Democratic Congress and a Republican President." There was a third party, the Progressive party, and a fourth party, the States Rights party, but Truman won.

In October, 1948, Bean predicted Truman would need a turnout of 60 million votes to win. Noting that the vote would probably go no higher than 51 million, Bean said Truman would carry only 9 states and that he would get only 18 if the vote went to 55 millions. Actually he carried 28 states with a total vote of about 48½ millions. Also in October, 1948, Bean predicted Truman would receive 24½ million votes and Thomas E. Dewey 27½. He was almost correct on Truman but off 6 millions on Dewey.

In 1952 Bean predicted Adlai would get 54 to 56 per cent of the vote. He got 44 per cent. In the 1950 Ohio Senate race, Bean predicted defeat for the late Senator Robert A. Taft and Taft won by 430,000 votes. Altho Bean has been off on predictions like most analysts, he has been a political prophet with power if without solid foundation.

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'Tommy the Cork' Corcoran Makes Fortune as Lobbyist

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

When "Tommy the Cork" Corcoran left the government to practice lobby-law in Washington, he proclaimed that he intended to make a million dollars.

It was an incongruous pronouncement to those who knew his record. Thomas G. Corcoran—dubbed "Tommy the Cork" by FDR himself—had become fabulous as the most powerful ultraliberal in all of Franklin Roosevelt's crowd of brain-trusters.

But from the size of that $60,000-a-year retainer from just one lone gas-pipeline client, which currently has him back in the headlines, it would seem that he has made good the million dollar threat. His has been the story of a young man who turned a personality into a mint.

Behind FDR's Purge Attempt

He was responsible more than any other man for Roosevelt's ill-fated attempt to purge the late conservative Senator Walter George in Georgia in 1938. He brought about the split between Roosevelt and Vice President Jack Garner after Roosevelt's attempt to pack the Supreme Court. Roosevelt and the conservative Garner in later years hardly spoke to each other. In fact, Garner worked hard to prevent a third term nomination.

Corcoran brought the then liberal Jimmy Byrnes to the top as Roosevelt's chief lieutenant in the Senate and Byrnes later went to the Supreme Court.

Corcoran's hand could be seen in every New Deal plot and there were plenty of them in those days.

Toward the last, Roosevelt tried to appoint him Assistant Secretary of the Navy, but Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox would have none of it.

"Tommy the Cork" is in controversy now because he interceded by telephone and personal visits with three members of the Federal Power Commission as an attorney for the Tennessee Gas Transmission Corporation. T. G. T. C. owns the Midwestern Gas Transmission Company, which intends to build a pipeline from Canada to Upper Michigan. In five years Corcoran received $310,999 for services and expenses.

Corcoran Intervened

The Commission had ruled that Midwestern was to get a return of 6½ per cent. After Corcoran's intervention it reversed itself and rendered an "open end" decision by which it could receive 7 per cent. The difference in income for Midwestern would amount to $783,000 a year, according to the FPC professional staff.

Ever since Roosevelt's death Corcoran has been practicing law here. He is known mostly as a lawyer's lawyer. He has kept out of the limelight although he is known to have numerous profitable clients. He seems to be doing just as well under a Republican Administration as he did under the Fair Deal that succeeded the New Deal.

While operating under Roosevelt he concentrated on getting young men into key positions of the government. Many are there now; none is with the Federal Power Commission, however. With typical audacity he went to the top and dealt with three of the five commissioners.

It was Corcoran who **more** than any other man defeated **the** late John O'Connor of New York, another conservative, for the House Speakership and later brought about O'Connor's retirement from the House. It was not infrequent at all that a recalcitrant Congressman would get a call: "Hello, this is Tommy Corcoran calling for the White House." Then he would go on to cajole or threaten.

Nearly every appointment for a judgeship had to be cleared with him.

He worked with another lawyer, Benjamin Cohen, now practicing in New York. Cohen worked behind the scenes and had no taste for the controversy Corcoran was always arousing. He was a timid sort of fellow, retiring but brilliant. Corcoran depended on him for the skill in the operations, and Corcoran then, with dash and audacity, carried them out.

Loudly Denounced

The team of Cohen and Corcoran was loudly denounced in Republican campaigns in those days. Their names rang up and down the countryside. When his opponents didn't want to blame Roosevelt because he was too popular they would place the blame on Cohen and Corcoran. Cohen would wince. Corcoran reveled in it.

In 1940, Corcoran went up to New York and took over the campaign, pushing the campaign manager to the side.

The story of his rise in the New Deal and into Roosevelt's favor is amazing. Harold L. Ickes introduced him to the President because Corcoran, meeting him at a party, was helpful in finding his coat and hat. He won Mr. Roosevelt's favor by playing the accordion at the White House on Sunday nights.

Today he is greying, a little less ebullient, but he still plays that accordion and he still paints his lobby activities with a broad brush. And the House Investigating Committee has not been able to tag him with anything improper. FPC Commissioners say he didn't influence them; he says he was merely trying to make his client's position clear to them. But oh how the money rolls in.

What the Man Said . . .

Duluth Publicity

"Any government, like any family, can for a year spend a little more than it earns. But you and I know that a continuance of that habit means the poorhouse."

Now who do you think gave that sage advice? It was Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932.

It made good sense then and even better sense today.

The Social Gospel

From the Individualist

The Government is my shepherd. I need not work. It allows me to lie down on good jobs; it leadeth me beside still factories. It destroyeth my initiative; it leadeth me in the paths of a parasite for political sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of laziness and deficit spending, I will fear no evil, for the Government is with me. Its doles and vote-getters, they comfort me. It prepareth an economic Utopia for me by appropriating the earnings of my own grandchildren. Surely, the Government shall care for me all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in a fool's paradise forever.

Injured Messenger Gets Pay for Play

From the Chicago Tribune

In our national conceit, we Americans sometimes think countries other than our own are farthest sunk in government paternalism. But the court of appeals in Albany, N. Y., has shaken our complacency.

This court has just sustained award of workmen's compensation to one James Johnston of New York City. It seems that Jim, then aged 17 and employed as a messenger boy, was idly shooting paper clips out an office window. His rubber band backfired, and one of the clips hit Jim in the eye.

The workmen's compensation board ruled that shooting the company's office supplies out the window was close enough to Jim's regular duties to make compensable any injuries he incurred in so doing. It is this award that is now upheld.

With Jim's case as a precedent, you ought to be able to collect on almost any self-inflicted injury provided only you use company materials as the instrument and perform the act on company time.

'Cradle to Grave' Plan Boomerangs in Sweden

From Forecast and Review

Probably the most inclusive public welfare program in operation in any nation is in Sweden. The Swedish national welfare program *is* from the "cradle to the grave."

From an infant to old age, Swedish citizens are protected by federal aid programs against every physical and economic eventuality.

Relieved from the cares and worries over physical and economic misfortunes you would think the Swedes would be the happiest of all Europeans, but strangely that is not the case. Sweden has the highest suicide rate of any nation in Europe. Melancholia is so widespread among Swedes that the Swedish government has appointed a committee to investigate its causes. Also the Swedish national welfare program is running into financial difficulties. In order to prevent its collapse Sweden has enacted a four per cent national sales tax.

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